

The Free and Voluntary Confession and Narrative of James Holloway (addressed to His Majesty) VVritten with his own hand, and Delivered by himself to Mr. Secretary JENKINS, As also, The Proceedings against the said James Holloway in His Majesties KINGS-BENCH COURT, Westminster; And his Petition to His Majesty.

TOGETHER

With a particular Account of the Discourse as passed between the Sheriffs of London and the said James Holloway at the time of his Execution for High-Treason at Tyburn, April 30. 1684. With his Prayer immediately before, and the true Copy of the Paper delivered them at the same Time and Place.

The Confession or Narrative.

Great SIR,

**I** Your Majesties most humble, but too much misled, and disobedient Subject do here most faithfully, according to the best of my Remembrance, give you an Account of what I knew concerning the late discovered Conspiracy; how I came to be concerned, how far I was concerned; how it was to have been carried on in Bristol; why I did not come in at the first Discovery, and cast my self at your Majesties Feet for Mercy; how I made my escape, and where I was till taken. If I shall through forgetfulness omit any thing, that it may be thought I am privy to, I shall be ready and willing truly to answer any question that shall be asked by your Majesty, or any your most Honorable Privy-Council, no way despairing of your Majesties Mercy, but remain in hopes, that that Fountain of Mercy which hath so abundantly flowed from your Sacred Breast ever since your happy Restauration is not yet dry, and that there is some drops left for me, who doubt not but to Serve your Majesty both at home and abroad, much more Living than my Death will.

That which I have cause to impute the occasion of my being Concerned, was my too Publick Spirit, preferring your Majesties and my Countries Interest much before my own, but especially in attending the two last Parliaments, promoting an Act, for the encouragement of the *Lincoln Bachelors*, and the preventing of Frauds in your Majesties Customs, &c. which would have brought in, and saved to your Majesty near 200000 L. per An. and employed many thousands of Poor, &c. as is well known to many Worthy Persons about your Court, and indeed proved my Ruine, otherwise than in this Concern by bringing me into too great Acquaintance for one of my Capacity, and by that to be concerned as I was. My Attendance on those two Parliaments I doubt have been mis-represented.

How far I was Concerned.

After the Dissolution of the two last Parliaments, I observed a great dissatisfaction in People in most parts where I travelled, but heard nothing of any Design till July 1682. when one Mr. Joseph Tyly of Bristol came from London; I meeting with him, asked what News, he answered to this effect, all bad, and if some speedy course be not taken, we shall be all undone, for by their Arbitrary, Illegal ways, and by force of Arms, they have got Sheriffs to their minds, Wines they had before, but wanting Jurors to believe them, now they have got Sheriffs, naming Mr. North, and Mr. Rich, who will find Jurors to believe any Evidence against a Protestant, and so hang up all the Kings Friends by degrees; I then told him that I thought it was impossible such things could be done, but the King must hear of it; no, said he, there's none suffered to come near the King, but those who have been declared Enemies to the King and Kingdom by Parliament, naming some that were mentioned in the Printed Votes, who, to save themselves, do endeavor to keep all such things from the Kings knowledge, and persuade him against Parliaments, with much more such-like discourse, by which I found the same was discovered throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland as a means to engage People. At length he told me that the Protestant Gentry, naming the Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord Howard of Effrick and others were come to a Resolution, seeing fair means would not do, but all things on the Protestants side are mis-represented to the King by such great Criminals, and none more in favor than those to take the King from his Evil Council, and that by an Insurrection,

in several parts of England at once, viz. London, Bristol, Taunton, Exeter, Chester, Newcastle, York, and some other places in the North, and that there would be a considerable party ready in Scotland, and another in Ireland, therefore said he, we must consider how to manage affairs in Bristol, for if they proceed at Michaelmas in choosing Lord Major as they did Sheriffs, and to swearing of North and Rich, it must begin in October or November, otherwise there will be some Sham-Plot contrived to take off most of the stirring Men in the last Parliaments; with much other Discourse to the same effect, adding, that Mr. Wade would come down very suddenly, by whom we might expect a full Account of all, about the end of August as near as I can remember, Mr. Wade came down, who confirmed what Mr. Tyly had said, but could say little as to any farther Resolution they were come to above, either of any Time or Method agreed upon, but that the Design went on, and men were employed in all parts to try how people were inclined, who found enough ready, and that there would be no want of Men, if it was once begun. Then we considered how it might be managed in Bristol, and what number of men might be needful for the first Onset; towards which he said, We might depend on 150. men from Taunton or thereabouts, and concluded that 250. might be sufficient to secure it without the Blood-shed of 1000 men; it being our Design to shed no Blood if possible, but this we resolved not to acquaint any of our Friends with it, till the day, and method was resolved, of which he said we should have ten or twelve days notice; and having soon considered of a Method, waited in expectation of a further advice, but none came till November; then we heard that some disappointment happening they were forced to delay it, though there was more and more cause for it. The end of November or beginning of January had advice, that it was deferred to the beginning of March. The third of March I came to London, and meeting with Mr. Wade, asked him how things went, who answered that he could not tell what to make of it, for he could find nothing done, more than was nine Months before. The great Persons who were the Managers, having done nothing, but talk of things. But now there was some others appointed to manage it, who were men of business, naming them to me, viz. The Earl of Essex, the Lord Howard of Effrick, the Lord Gray, the Lord Russell, Coll. Sidney, Major Wildman, Mr. Hampden, the younger; and Mr. Charlton, who he did suppose would make something of it, and not do as the others had done, make a years talk to ensnare many thousands of people to no purpose; for these had already sent Messengers into Scotland and Ireland, to know their minds, sending one Aaron Smith into Scotland, and at the return of the Messengers would come to a resolution as to time and method; but he was confident they could not be ready before Midsummer, by reason they had done so little in order to it. Mr. Wade was then design'd into the West upon the Earl of Stamford's business, and said if he could understand any thing more before he left London, he would take Bristol in his way, and acquaint us with it. This journey he brought me to Coll. Rumsey with whom we had little discourse, he being going forth with his Lady. The sixth of March I left London, and went directly for Bristol; about the twelfth of March Mr. Wade came to Bristol, but then could say no more than as above; the Messengers being not come back from Scotland nor Ireland, and was of his former opinion, that if any thing were done, it could not be before Midsummer, he then expected to be about two Months in the West, and said, that if anything was agreed upon sooner, and Mr. Wade



Councillor had promised to write to him in the name of *Inglestone*, and direct his letter to be left at his Brothers in *Bristol*, who *Wade* ordered that if any such Letter came, to open it, and if any thing material in it, to send it by a Messenger to him into the *West*. About the 17th. of *March* came a Letter for him from *West* in the name of *Inglestone*, which his Brother opened, and not understanding the stile, brought it to me, but I knew not the meaning thereof. The Contents was to desire Mr *Wade* to get his Clients together the next *Saturday* come Fortnight, for that was the day appointed to Seal the Writings, and neither of us understanding it, his Brother sent it by a Messenger after him, who found him at *Taunton*, and his Answer by the Messenger was, that he knew not the meaning of it, but should be within ten miles of *Bristol* the next *Saturday*, desiring that if any other Letter came, to send it to him. About three days after came another Letter as above, desiring him not to call his Clients together, for the time of Sealing was put off, which Letters was also sent to him, but he understood it not, saying, it was some rash business or other, and so went back again.

The fifth of *April* I came to *London*, and that evening went to Mr. *West's* Chamber in the *Temple*, where I found him, who then did not know me, but when I told him my Name, from whence I came, and mentioned the two Letters Mr. *Wade* received from him he began to be somewhat free in Discourse with me, I then told him that Mr. *Wade* and his friends were surprized at the Letters, not knowing what he meant by them, and did desire to know, concerning which he seemed a little shy, but after little Discourse, began to tell me, saying, there was a Design to take off the King and Duke coming from *New-Market*, which they expected would have been that *Saturday* mentioned in his Letter, had not the Fire happened, which caused them to come sooner; nay, said he, had we known they would have stayed so long as they did, their business, should have been done: I then asked him what he meant by desiring Mr. *Wade* to get his Clients together by that day, and what he could propose they should have done, to which he could say little, only that they might be ready, I then told him, that I thought it a very rash thing, and that few in *England* would approve of it, that I was sure none about us would, being a most Cowardly dishonorable Action, besides the basest sin of Murder, then, said he, what is designed by the General Design but to take them both off, and if it had been done that way, it would have prevented a great deal of Blood-shed in the Nation; no, said I, no such thing is designed as I know of, the General Design being only to get the King off from his evil Counsels, who had advised him to put a stop to Proceedings against Popish Plotters, by Dissolving of Parliaments, &c. and to bring all Popish Offenders to Justice, and such who had betrayed the Liberty of the Subject; and this I think was all the Discourse we had at that time, being the first of my Acquaintance with him; that Night I went with him to a Tavern in *Fleet-street*, where was *Chaplain Norton*, *Richard Goodenough*, and one Mr. *Atley*, who, to my knowledge, I never saw before, nor since; whilst I was with them there was no Discourse of any business, but I soon left them together. The next day Mr. *Rot* of *Bristol*, brought me to Mr. *Ferguson*, at the House of one Mr. *Bourne* a Brewer, but was not admitted to see him himself, *Ferguson* then went by the Name of *Roberts*, who, when I had told my Name, and from whence I came, was pretty free in Discourse with me, and told me the Design went on very well, that there were some *Scottish* Gentlemen come up, who were treating with the Managers, and did hope they would agree in few days, and come to a Resolution both as to Time and Method, of which we should have timely notice, but by all his Discourse at that time, I could not perceive that he knew any thing of the *New-Market* Design.

That day I had some Discourse with Colonel *Rumsey* at his House, who I found was privy to the *New-Market* business, and his Opinion was, that the General Design would come to nothing, for he did not approve of the Managers Actions, and said there was nothing like the other Design, for that would put an end to all in a little time, then I told him, that I thought none in our Parts would be for it; which I think was all the Discourse we then had; only he promised, that if any thing was agreed before Mr. *Wade* came up I should hear of it, so I took leave and went for *Bristol* the next morning. About ten days after, hearing nothing from them (*Ferguson* having told me that he thought all would be agreed in four or five days, and promised to advise) I wrote to Mr. *West*, desiring to know how they went on, who wrote me, that they still met with delays, and were come to no Conclusion; after that, I heard no more till *May*. About the beginning of *May* I came up to *London* again, in Company with Mr. *Wade*, and some other *Bristol* men, but when we came up, my business being in the City, and theirs about the *Temple*, we parted; after two or three days, I met with Mr.

*Wade*, and asked how he found things, who told me, he doubted all would prove a Sham, for he thought there was no thing intended, finding nothing materially done in order to what had been so long discoursed. Then we went to Mr. *West*, and discoursed him fully about the Contents of his Letters, who told us, they were resolved to kill the King and Duke as they came from *New-Market*, in order to which, he had provided Arms for fifty men, Pistols, Carbines and Blunderbusses, and that they were promised the House of one *Rumbal* a Master, which lay in the Road, and the King must come by his Door, there the men should have been Lodged. Then we asked who was to have acted it, to which he could give but a slender Answer, and could, or would name but two men, who were *Rumbal* and his Brother, saying, if they could have raised six or eight hundred pounds to have bought Horses, and something to encourage men, they should have had men enough; so that we found they had few men, if more than two, and no Horses, only a parcel of Arms, which afterwards he shewed us at a Gun-smiths House in a little Lane near *Temple-Bar*. Then we asked him what they designed if it had taken effect, to which he answered, that the men should have come up with all speed to *London*, and dispersed themselves immediately, declaring for the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that the King and Duke being dead, no opposition could be made; then we asked who were for this Design, he named Colonel *Rumsey* and *Richard Goodenough*, and, as far as I can remember, no more; so we found it was carried on by them contrary to the knowledge or approbation of those who managed the General Design: Then we declared our great dislike of it, telling him, it was a base Dishonorable and Cowardly Action, and would seem odious to all the World, that any pretending themselves Protestants, should be concerned in such a Bloody Action, and that we thought it was his Cowardize put him upon it, to which he said, that he could not fight, but would be as forward with his Money as any one of his Capacity. Then we went to Colonel *Rumsey*, who we found to be wholly of *West's* Opinion, saying, that except something be done that way, I know nothing will be done at all, for he knew the other Managers would do nothing; so we had little Discourse at that time. After this we went to *Ferguson*, who told us how things stood; we then found that he knew of both Designs, but was only for the Insurrection, and told us, that the Managers had been Treating with some *Scottish* Gentlemen; that they were almost agreed, and that the Money they were to be supplied with, would be ready in three or four days, being ten thousand pounds, which was to be returned to *Holland* by Arms, &c. for *Scotland*. He also told us that the *Scottish* Gentlemen had made another Proposal to the Managers, that if they would supply them with thirty thousand pounds, they would begin it in *Scotland* first, which they could soon have, and then would invade *England*, desiring the Managers only to get a Party in the North of *England*, ready to oppose any Forces from coming out of *England* against them, before they had settled *Scotland*; but this was not approved of, the Managers chusing rather to supply them with 10000 l. and to begin it in *England* the same time. Then we daily expected to hear when the Money would be payed, but still found nothing but delays, the Messengers not agreeing how to raise the Money, and that if the Money had been ready, they were come to no Conclusion as to any method more than they were nine months before, having done nothing but talked to ensnare people, reporting about in all parts how the Liberties of the people were daily more and more infringed, and that Arbitrary Government and Popery was coming in apace, which incensed people very much, and made such a grumbling in all parts, that we fear'd longer delays would make the common people in many parts mutiny, it being as we thought so generally known, except something was suddenly done, it was impossible it should remain undiscovered, so the next time we met with *Rumsey* and *Ferguson* (tho' never together) we declared our dissatisfaction by reason of such long delays, and spoke it so as that it might come to the managers Ears, as we suppose it did, being to this effect, That we thought they had only a design to betray people, drawing many thousands into a snare, for their actions shewed little otherwise, being so long discoursing a thing of that nature, and done so little towards it: few days after meeting with *Rumsey* again, he told us they were of different opinions concerning a method, some for beginning the Insurrection only in *London* and *Scotland*, some for it in all places at once, as at first proposed, others for several places in *England* and *Scotland*, and not in *London*, saying that if it was not begun in *London*, but in other places, there would be forces raised in *London* to send out against them, which would take out most of their strength, and that then *London* might be easily secured; sometimes they were for beginning it only in *London* and *Scotland*, and to have people come up to *London* from all



all parts of *England*, to which we answered, that we thought no way better than what was first proposed, (*viz.*) the beginning of it in many places at once, as before mentioned, for although we had engaged none in or about *Bristol*, nor should not endeavour it till all things were concluded, yet with the assistance we were promised from *Taunton*, did not doubt but to get men enough to secure it, and that we knew not where to get ten men that would come for *London*, and supposed it might be so in other places, men might be willing to secure their own Countrey; who would not be willing to leave all and come for *London*: *Rumsey* then said, if he knew where to get at the head of 1000 men, he would begin it presently, and desired that that we might meet the next night with some others and consider of things, so the next afternoon we met at *Richard's* Coffee-house, near *Temple-Barr*, and from thence to a Tavern, I think called the little or young Devil Tavern, were met eight persons, (*viz.*) *Colonel Rumsey*, *Robert West*, *Capt. Norton*, *Capr. Walcot*, *Richard Goodenough*, *Francis Goodenough*, *Nathaniel Wade*, and my self, this was the first time I knew *Walcot*. When we were all sit, *Colonel Rumsey* spoke to this effect, as near as I can remember the same words; Gentlemen, if we can raise three thousand men in and about *London*, there is a person of Honour will appear at the head of them and begin the business; which we supposed to be the Duke of *Monmouth*, and do not well remember whether he mentioned his name or not. Which proposal much surprized Mr. *Wade* and I, that he should then question the raising of 3000 men, whereas when it was first mentioned to us, we thought they had been sure of many thousands in *London* at an hours warning. Then it was considered how 3000 men might be raised, and how they might do something to the purpose: then we declared what method we had concluded on for the management of Affairs in *Bristol*, which was as followeth; and they could think of no better way, so it was concluded that *London* and the Suburbs should be divided into Twenty parts, and one man made choice of in each division, who should chule out ten in his division that he could trust, and each of those ten to find out fifteen, which would make 165 in each division, so that twenty divisions would produce 3300 in order to which a Man of *London* was to be brought the next day, and each division drawn out in a particular Paper, mentioning every Street and Lane of note in it with the North, East, South and West bounds thereof, and to be brought the next meeting, two or three nights after; at the first meeting it was agreed that none should know of this Design, *viz.* (of the chief Managers) till all the men were secured, and that those seven (I being not to stay long in *London*) should meet every two or three nights till all was completed. At this meeting *Rumsey* and *West* would be taken saying, there was nothing like the lopping business, meaning the taking off the King and Duke, and that it might be easily done as they went to or from *Windsor*, or to or from the *Play-House*, but I never heard any agree with him in it. Next day a Map was bought and brought to *West's* Chamber in the *Temple*, where some met to divide it, and draw out the divisions against the next meeting. The next place we met at I think was at the *Castle-Tavern* in *Fleet-Street*, where some of the divisions were brought, all being not done, and then it was considered how they should be distributed, being we were most strangers, and agreed that *Richard Goodenough*, who had been Under-Sheriff, and so had a general Acquaintance, should do it, who was willing to undertake it, the rest of the divisions to be ready against the next meeting, which was two or three nights after at the *Green-Dragon-Tavern* upon *Snaw-Hill*, where when Mr. *Goodenough* came he told us, That he had disposed of some of them, and did hope it would take effect, and that in a week or ten dayes he should have fixed the twenty men; the consideration how things should be managed, was deferred till they were sure of the men, only some mention'd their Opinions how the *Tower*, *White-Hall*, and other places might be best surprized. The *Tower* was thought might be best gain'd in the day time, *White-Hall* and other places in the night, with many such things in way of discourse: *Rumsey* was still upon the old strain of killing the King and the Duke, saying (at this last meeting I was at, going for *Bristol* next morning) that it might be done in *Windsor-Park*, and that he would undertake it, but not except every one there present would go with him, to which not one consented, I replying that I was for no such thing; but seeing the other business had gone so far, and was known to so many, if they could bring it to bear in *London* and other places, I rashly said, rather than fall of *Bristol* we will undertake it at Noon-day with an hundred Men; to which *Rumsey* said I was a bold Fellow; they then promised (when they were sure of the men) to advise and take care for some Arms for us at *Bristol*, and that we should have some great Person come down to head us; but I heard no more till the news of the Discovery came in publick Letters; I remember one time when *Wade* and I was with *Ferguson*, he told us that the Duke of

*Monmouth* was brought to a low condition, all his Places being taken from him, and his Tenants in *Scotland* (being so severally dealt with upon account of their Religion) was not able to pay Rent, so that his Estate there, which was accounted worth Ten or Twelve Thousand Pound per An. did not yield him the last Year Two Thousand Pound, that he was not well pleased with the management of Affairs, and desired Mr. *Wade* to appoint a place where he would meet the Lord *Gerrard*, and Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, to discourse them, to which Mr. *Wade* replied, he would meet none of them, for such Great Men had betrayed the Nation already, and enstar'd too many Thousands to no purpose.

#### How it was to have been acted in Bristol.

We concluded that the only way to secure *Bristol* would be by a surprize, which with about 350 men (150 of which we depended on from *Taunton*, the other 200 to be raised in and about the City) might easily be done about 4 of the Clock in the Morning, as soon as the Watch were gone off, without the bloodshed of one man, thus, dividing the City into fourteen parts, so making thirteen Posts besides the Main Guard, which should at first have been at the *Toulezey* (which is in *Bristol* as the Exchange here) we supposed 20 men might be sufficient for each Post, and the remainder for the Main Guard, out of which might be spared 4 or 6 Files to be constantly marching about, and to assist where there might be occasion. The method we designed for the raising of 200 men in and about the City was thus, first to find out 30 men, 2 for each Post, and 4 for the Main Guard, who might be able each of them to procure 6, and to command them, which would have made 14, for each Post, and 28; for the Main Guard, to whom the *Taunton* men should be added, (*viz.*) 6 to each Post, and the remainder to the Main Guard, who should have come in the day before, some at every entrance of the City, and lodge themselves at Inns and Ale-houses as near the Posts as they were appointed for as they could: each man being to know his Post and Commanders before they came, the *Bristol* men to lodge themselves and Arms, with Arms for the *Taunton* men, in an house as near as possible to their Posts, and to send one out from each post between Three and Four of the Clock in the morning to observe the motion of the Watch, and to advise as soon as they were gone off, that they might all immediately repair to their respective Posts, calling the *Taunton* men, and as soon as they had gained their Posts to send out a File of Musquetiers to fetch in such & such men in each of their divisions as they should have had an account of before, and convey them to the Main Guard, which in the fourteen Divisions would have been about Sixty Persons, Commission-Officers and others; then to fetch in all the Arms and Ammunition they could find, which two things being done (as we supposed might be in a little time, and without any opposition, the Posts being so near each other, that it would have been impossible for any Number to get together) we resolved next to declare the reasons for our taking up Arms, and to encourage all to come in to us that we could trust, not doubting but we should soon have had many Thousands in the City, and out of the adjacent Counties, *Gloucester*, *Somerset*, and *Wills*.

#### The Reasons why I did not come in, &c.

When the News of the Discovery first came to *Bristol*, and some time before, I was in some trouble by my Creditors, and forced to abscond, tho' thought I had sufficient to pay them, only desired time to get in my effects, their mercy I feared more than your Majesty, and thought if I should come in and find mercy with your Majesty, I could at first expect no better than a Prison, and if from it discharged by your Majesty, to be kept in by them upon account of my debts. Secondly, hearing there was very many (in and about *Bristol*) supposed to be concerned, and I, (tho' knowing so much) being able to prove so little against any man, but such against whom there was sufficient proof without me, feared that if I should come in more would be expected from me than I could prove, and so might fall of mercy, it having been our resolution not to discover the Design to any of our Friends till the Managers had agreed both upon time and method, therefore considered how to make my escape, there being then a strict search in all Ports, thought best to continue in *England* for some time, till the heat might be over, and so got an ordinary habit, and a little horse about 40 shillings price, and travell'd the Countrey as a man dealing in Wool, in *Gloucester-shire*, *Oxford-shire*, *Somerset-shire*, till about the middle of August, then repaired towards *Bristol*, and by Letter with my Wifes assistance (all other Friends thereabout fearing to act for me) prevailed with a poor man who had a small Boat about ten Tuns, for twenty Pounds reward and the like per Month, for six Months to go with me for France, and from thence to the *West-Indies*, or where I would, my Name being



When in no Proclamation or Declaration, If it had, I should not have prevailed with the man to go with me. So the twenty third of August Sailed from Kings-Road for Rochel, the 25th. proving bad weather, crackt our Mast, and so put into St. Ives in Cornwall, where we stayed till the fourth of September, then put out again for Rochel, but meeting with contrary Winds was forced into several places in France, and gained not our Port till the seventeenth. In Rochel I loaded her with Brandy and other Goods, and the fourth of October sailed from thence for the West-Indies (being willing to know how my concerns lay there, that my Creditors might have their own, tho' I knew I might be much safer in France) and arrived at Barbadoes the eleventh of November, there I heard of my Name being in the Gazette, therefore stayed but two days lading part of my Cargo, from thence I went to Antigua where I landed and disposed of the remaining part, staying there about ten days; but it being too soon for the Crop, and my charge being the same, lying still or going farther, also thinking it not safe to lie long there, resolved to see the rest of the Caribby-Islands; and so went down to Monserrat, Nevis, St. Christophers, St. Eustatia and Anguilla, and so back again to St. Christophers, supposing that to be the safest place, I being known to none there, where I stayed about three weeks. About the fourteenth of January I wrote to my Factor in Nevis about what was due to me, who on receipt of my Letter discover'd me, so that Sir William Stapleton presently sent his Warrant to St. Christophers to apprehend me, but before it came I was gone down to St. Eustatia, expecting to meet my Vessel there, which I had sent up to Barbadoes, and it being known where I was gone, the Deputy-Governor of St. Christophers sent five men with his Warrant after me, to whom on sight thereof I submitted, tho' had an opportunity and might have escaped; but was rather willing to cast my self at His Majesties Feet for mercy, than live such a Life any longer, not daring to appear where there was need of me (among my Factors) who I doubt will take too much Advantage by my Troubles for my Creditors Interest. In Nevis I was kept a Prisoner 12 days, where I promised Sir William Stapleton that I would make what discovery I could, giving him the Names of some who I had acquainted with it in Bristol, which I suppose he hath given an account of, desiring him that it might be kept private, for if it was known they would have advice of it; but it was not kept so private as I expected, for the Night I came off I was told of it, therefore suppose they were adv'd by a Bristol Ship that came away before us, by which I wrote not a word, I suppose she might be at home long before us, we being nine Weeks and five Days. All that I can say against any of them, except William Wad who is before-mentioned, is that I acquainted them with the business, as I believe many Thousands in England were, and do suppose they would have been concern'd. Hereunder is an Account of many other Persons that I have heard was concerned in the Design for an Insurrection, which is all that I can call to mind of any thing material that ever I heard concerning the Plot.

Here he mention'd the Names of several Persons.

Now if your Majesty is graciously pleased to spare me, it will be a sufficient warning to me for ever meddling in the things of that nature again: and I hope, I shall have the Opportunity of serving your Majesty and my Country in the promotion of that which brought me into this, and cost me many hundred pounds, with some years pains to bring it to that perfection I did, (viz.) the Linnen Manufacture which many Honourable Persons about your Court have heard of, and I can make it appear that it will employ near eighty thousand poor people, and forty thousand Acres of Land, and bring in and save your Majesty near two hundred thousand pounds per An.

Another thing which I think I may serve your Majesty in (abroad) is this, when I left England I knew there was many who were in trouble about their Opinions, would willingly have left England, if they knew where to go, that they might have liberty. There is a very fine Island in the West-Indies, good Land, and well watered, which by such people would be soon settled, and prove a great advantage to your Majesty and Successors, for it would soon exceed any Island except Barbadoes and Jamaica, it lies so near a bad neighbour, the Spanish Portico, that except a considerable number go together, it will be dangerous living there; but if no great alteration in affairs since I left England with your Majesties leave, enough might be prevailed with to go and settle it at once, which will not only serve your Majesty as before, but clear the Nation of some hundreds of dissatisfied people.

Die Lune 21 April. 36 Car' Second. Regis.  
Anno Dom' 1684. B. R.

Dominus Rex versus Jacobum Holloway.

HIS Majesties Attorney-General having on Friday last moved the Court of Kings Bench for an Habeas Corpus returnable this day, directed to the Keeper of his Majesties Goal of Newgate, to bring thither the Body of James Holloway then in his custody, to shew Cause why Execution should not be awarded upon an Outlawry for High Treason against him. The Keeper of Newgate according to the Command of the Writ brought him this day to the Bar of the said Court, where he was proceeded against in this manner:

The Return of the writ of Habeas Corpus was first Read.

Cl. of Crown. James Holloway, hold up thy hand, (which he did) Thou hast been indicted in London by the Name of James Holloway late of London Merchant, for High Treason by thee committed touching the Kings Majesties Person, and the Government of this his Kingdom of England, and for not appearing and answering that Indictment, by due Process of Law upon the Indictment thou standest Outlawed, and upon that Outlawry thou standest Attainted of the same High Treason; What hast thou to say for thy self why Execution should not be awarded against thee upon that Attainder by this Court according to Law?

Holloway. My Lord, I have been a great while absent, and know not what hath been done in this matter, or proved against me.

L. Ch. Just. Yes, you have been absent so long it seems, that you now stand Outlawed, and thereby Attainted of High Treason; there is nothing now remains with the Court but only to make a Rule for your Execution.

Holloway. If any ingenious Confession of the Truth will merit the Kings Pardon, then sure I have done it.

L. Ch. Just. For that matter we are not to dispose of the Kings Mercy, he will dispose of his own Mercy, as he shall think fit. Is Mr. Attorney in the Hall?

Crier. Yes my Lord, he is.

L. Ch. Just. Then pray send for him.

(Which was done, and in a little time after he came into Court.)

L. Ch. Just. Mr. Attorney, here is the Prisoner at the Bar, Holloway.

Mr. Att. Gen. Yes my Lord, I see he is. Sir Samuel Jeffry, have you the Record there?

Cl. of Cr. Yes, Sir.

L. Ch. Just. It has been read to him. Mr. Attorney.

Mr. Att. Gen. My Lord, I would know what he saith, that Execution should not be Awarded.

L. Ch. Just. He talks of Discoveries and Confessions, which we, you know, we cannot take any notice of; Ask him again.

Cl. of Cr. Hast thou any thing to say for thy self why Execution should not be awarded against thee according to Law?

Holloway. My Lord, I know not what hath been proved against me, but I have made such an ingenious Confession to His Majesty of what I knew.

L. Ch. Just. Proved against you? You are Outlawed upon an Indictment for High Treason; what can you say against the Courts awarding Execution?

Mr. Att. Gen. My Lord, has he heard the Indictment upon which the Outlawry was grounded?

Cl. of Cr. No, Sir, only the Substance was told him, That he was Indicted of High Treason, and Outlawed for it, and stands Attainted by that Outlawry.

Mr. Att. Gen. If your Lordship please, the Indictment may be read to him, that he may understand what it is, and may not go blind to Execution.

L. Ch. Just. Ay, Mr. Attorney, if you please let it be so.

Cl. of Cr. Reads. The Jurors being Sworn to enquire for our Sovereign Lord the King, and the Body of the County of the City of London upon their Oaths present, That— (and so the whole Indictment was Read.)

Cl. of Cr. That is the Indictment, Mr. Attorney, and upon this he is Outlawed.

Mr. Att. Gen. And so stands Attainted. What hath he to say to it?

L. Ch. Just. Ay, why should not we award Execution against him according to Law?

Cl. of Cr. Have you any thing to say?

Holloway. I have said what I have to say.



Mr. Att. Gen. Pray what is that, my Lord, that he hath said, for I was not here?

Holloway. I beg his Majesties Mercy.

Mr. Att. Gen. If the King be so Gracious as to admit you to your Tryal, can you make any defence against the Indictment? Have you any thing to say that can defend your self, if the King do admit you to be tryed; and that is a Mercy and a Grace, for at Law you are gone.

L. Ch. Just. It is so, indeed, Mr. Attorney; if you will on the Kings behalf indolge him so far as I suppose you have Authority from the King to Consent unto, that if he has a mind to try the Fact, and can defend himself, he shall have that Liberty, that is a great Mercy I assure you.

Mr. Att. Gen. My Lord, That is the only reason why I did cause the Indictment to be read that he might hear it; that supposing he were not Outlawed, but that were out of the Case, if he hath any thing to say that could defend him from it, the King would not exclude him, but admit him to his Tryal, and extend his Mercy so far to him.

L. Ch. Just. Mr. Attorney, it is exceeding well. Now you understand what is said by the Kings Attorney, you have heard the Indictment read, it is an Indictment of High Treason, that you with other false Traytors, *Hont, Rumball, Goodenough*, and the rest, did Conspire the death of the King. Now though you are in Law actually Attainted, as much as if you had been Tryed and Convicted, and received Judgment of Death upon that Conviction to all intents and purposes, and there is no more for the Court to do but to award Execution upon this Attainder, and be dealt with as a false Traytor. Yet however in as much as you have heard the Indictment read, if you think you have any thing to say that would satisfy the World, or a Jury, that you are not Guilty of what you are indicted, and Accused of, it seems the King is pleased to signify his Gracious Intention towards you by Mr. Attorney General, that he is contented to Wave that other part the Attainder by Outlawry, and you shall have the Liberty to try it, if you think you can defend your self.

Holloway. My Lord, I cannot undertake to defend my self, for I have Confessed before his Majesty that I am Guilty of many things in that Indictment, and I throw myself on the Kings Mercy.

L. Ch. Just. Then he Confesseth it, and will not undertake to defend himself; as for the Kings Mercy, that we must leave His Majesty, who is the Dispenser of his own Grace, we are to execute his Justice, and must give a Rule accordingly.

Mr. Just. with. But I hope every body here takes notice of his own Confession, when he might try it if he would. Surely none but will believe this Conspiracy now, after what this man hath owned:

L. Ch. Just. We are well enough satisfied about it before, and so was every honest man, I dare say.

Mr. Just. with. Yet, perhaps, though he saith it, and others have confessed it, and the Evidence hath been made Publick, there are many People that say they will not believe it.

L. Ch. Just. We do not mightily concern our selves what the People say. I am sure not one of all that were concerned in the Conspiracy have dared to deny it absolutely, though some have been prevailed upon by ill Advice to Prevaricate about it, and shuffle it off. But none of them have had the confidence absolutely to deny the Truth of the Fact, notwithstanding all the Calumnies and Reproaches cast upon the Government, and all the Arts that have been made use of to Stifle it.

Mr. Just. with. My Lord, I speak it rather because we see what work Sir Samuel Barnardiston has made of it in his Letters, where he calls it a Sham-Plot, and says it is lost except it be found among the Abhorers and Addressers.

L. Ch. Just. But now the Plot is found among the Conspirators and Traytors. he may write to his Correspondents in the Countrey the next time, it is found among the Reformers of Government and Religion, that can swallow all things, that can kill Kings, and Levy War, and do the Worst of Villanies to promote Religion and Reformation, as they call it. — Let us think of some convenient day, and give such Order that the Sheriffs see Execution done according to Law.

Mr. Att. Gen. You must first pronounce the Judgment, my Lord.

Mr. Just. with. It is never pronounced in such a Case, Mr. Attorney.

L. Ch. Just. No. we only give a Rule for Execution, the Outlawry is the Judgment, and that is upon the Record already.

Cl. of Cr. Yes, my Lord, we always enter it so.

L. Ch. Just. Captain Richardson, I think, *wednesdays* and *Fridays* are your usual Execution days in London, are they not?

Cap. Richardson. Yes, my Lord, either of them.

L. Ch. Just. Then *wednesday* seven night.

Cap. Richardson. Does your Lordship appoint *wednesday* next.

L. Ch. Just. No, that will be too quick; *wednesday* seven night.

Cap. Richardson. What day your Lordship pleaseth, I suppose I shall have a Rule.

Cl. of Cr. You shall have a Rule, and an *Habias Corpus* to deliver him, as the Courts is.

L. Ch. Just. In the meantime take your Prisoner back again.

And accordingly he was carried back to New-Gate.

## The Petition to His Majesty.

Most Great and Gracious Sovereign,

I Your Majesties now close Prisoner in New-gate, and condemned for my Crimes, which I have Confessed my self Guilty of, in a Paper of my own Writing, delivered to the Right Honourable the Lords of your Majesties Privy Council, in which is a true and faithful Account of all that I know concerning the Late Plot, with the manner how I was drawn into it, and the Reasons why I did not come in at the first Discovery, and cast my self at your Majesties Feet for Mercy, which I hope your Majesty hath perused, and find no cause to think I ever referred any thing undiscovered; For when I was first taken, I resolved to declare the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, which I have here done, and will own to be True before any that shall offer to contradict it; or say, There was no Plot; and if any thing more occurs to my memory, will not fail to declare it. I have now nothing to say for myself, why I should not be Executed according to Condemnation, but do most humbly prostrate my self at your Majesties Feet for Mercy, acknowledging my hearty sorrow for all that I have been Guilty of, and remain in hopes, that that Fountain of Mercy which hath so abundantly flowed from your Majesties Sacred Breast ever since your happy Restoration is not yet dry, but that there is some Drops left for me, which if I may be so happy as to Obtain, I shall always, whilst I live endeavour to approve my self your Majesties most true and faithful Subject, and I hope will answer the ends of a Pardon. Which that I may so do, and for your Majesties long life, Peaceable and Happy Reign, shall ever Pray, &c.

James Holloway.

## The Discourse that passed between the Sheriffs of London, and James Holloway, at the time of his Execution.

Holloway. M Ay I have Liberty, Sir, to speak what I desire to speak?

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Yes, Sir, you may. What you have, I suppose, will be by way of Discovery to the World of what you are brought here to dye for.

Holloway. You have my Paper, Captain?

Cap. Richardson. Yes.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Have it you about you?

Cap. Richardson. I have it in my Pocket.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Shew it him. (which he did) Is it your own hand Writing?

Holloway. Yes, Sir.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Is it your own hand Writing?

Holloway. That is my own hand Writing.

A Discovery of what I knew I made to his Majesty, but a great many people think that I have not discovered what I knew, but I have discovered what I know of the PLOT, and I am heartily sorry I was any way concerned in that way, as to the endeavouring any thing by Arms, I do think several things have been ill managed in England; there have been many things done against the King and the Kingdoms Interest, and I wish the King was well satisfied of it, and that a course might be taken to prevent it. And I think one way to prevent Plotting (according to my weak Capacity,) is, That his Majesty would be pleased to call a Parliament, and pass an Act of Oblivion for all Plotters whatsoever. There was a damnable Popish Plot, and I look upon the stifling of that to be the only Cause that any man did any thing in This. Had all the Popish Plotters been —

Mr. Sh. Daniel. By the way, Sir. How do you know it was stifled?

Holloway. Sir, We have known that the Laws could not be suffered against them, and the Parliament could not be suffered in the Prosecution of them. I wish the King would consult his own Safety, and the Safety of the Nation; and that an Act of Oblivion might pass, for I believe there are many concerned; and that there might be an end put to all News-mongers, that write into the Countrey Letters of News, I look upon that to do the King and the Kingdom more hurt than any thing else.



Cap. Richardson: Mr. Holloway, I beg one thing, have you discovered all? I desire you would discover those, (you did not name their Names) that if occasion were, would be ready; but that you had not spoke to them? *Wade* and others were to maintain their Posts.

Holloway. No, Sir, I had not spoke to them.

Cap. Richardson. This you did say.

Holloway. Yes, Sir.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. And that you promised a number of men in this Design.

Holloway. Promise it? I did propose I might do it.

Cap. Richardson. What do you know of the Contriving the business of the RYE; for Lopping, or taking off the King and the Duke?

Holloway. I was not with them till after time a good while; till about a Month or six Weeks after the time I was not acquainted with them. I looked upon it as a business not likely to take any effect at all, for I could never find above Five that were concerned in it.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. But did they not tell you at some one time they were concerned in such a thing?

Holloway. Yes, Sir, they did so. They told me more than once.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. In Bristol, or in London?

Holloway. In London.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. Mr. Holloway, you have a Liberty to say any thing you have a mind to.

Holloway. I have little to say more upon that account. I am sorry I was concerned in that way, to do such a thing as to take up Arms. But as to the Design I had, and the PLOT I was acquainted with, it was nothing against the Kings Life.

Cap. Richardson. Sure it was the same PLOT, while there was a Design to seize the King, and take him from evil Company.

Holloway. We had a Design to take them that were Guilty of the Popish Plot, and were Enemies to the Privileges and Liberties of the Subject.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. And as a thing that tended to that, the King was to be seized till he consented to these things?

Holloway. It was supposed by them that told me of it, that many things that have been acted of late, were done contrary to the Kings knowledge, and that the King knew nothing of it; and I am perfectly of that belief too. That many things are done contrary to the Kings knowledge, And I was farther informed, That if the King would be but once acquainted with these things, that the King would presently come in to those that should stand for his assistance, and give up all those Offenders to Justice.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. And if you could not tell him otherwise, you would take him first, and tell him afterwards.

Holloway. You may interpret it how you please, Sir. It was that all such Differences amongst the Kings Subjects might be prevented for the future; for I believe there were never greater Differences in the Spirits of men, though some think the Times were never better than now, because all things go according to their own humour; but I suppose many in the Nation are satisfied that many things have been done contrary to Law.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Was it fit you should set up for a Politician, or a Statesman?

Holloway. No, Sir, I did not take it upon me; that was for the Scriblers that write News. I do not reckon my self worthy to direct in such a Case.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Mr. Holloway, you don't remember to give the Names of those Persons you spoke of.

Holloway. It would be a folly for me, Sir, to go to abuse men that I did not know whether they would be concern'd or no.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. But that there were Persons that would be concern'd, you say.

Holloway. That we did think so; and if we should name every one that we thought would be concerned, I believe it might name three parts of London.

Cap. Richardson. I hope you are in a great mistake there.

Holloway. For that Design, I believe above three parts would be for. I never had any Design but for the King and the Kingdoms Interest, though I know that Design that was carried on by *Rumsey* and *Wist* was a very heinous Design, but I believe they would not have found many in England that would have been for it, I never heard of above Five for it.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Were you acquainted with *Walcot*?

Holloway. I was in his Company once or twice, but I heard him speak against it.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Was you ever with my Lord *Shaftsbury*?

Holloway. No, Sir, I was never with my Lord *Shaftsbury* but once, and that was about a Design I was promoting in Parliament, about the Linnen Manufacture.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Was you ever with my Lord of *Essex*?

Holloway. Never but once, and that was about that business.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Were you ever acquainted with my Lord *Ruffel*?

Holloway. Never with him at all.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. You were saying you knew the Names of Five; Who were they that were to be concern'd in that matter?

Holloway. I have declared them to his Majesty.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Did you know *Ferguson*?

Holloway. I knew him, Sir, but I know *Ferguson* to be against any such Design, and indeed, we did look upon it to be a thing that would come to no effect.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. Do you mean the Seizing the King?

Holloway. I mean the Insurrection.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Did you know of any Money raised, or promised to buy Arms?

Holloway. No, Sir, Never. I heard of Money that was to be raised, but I did not know who was to raise it.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. It is not our business to ask you many Questions, If you have any thing to say, you may.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. If you have any thing to say for the discharge of your Conscience, do it.

Holloway. I thank God, I never had any Design against his Majesties Person; what I intended was only for the good of the King and Kingdom, and I did take it, that it would have been so, and I am very sorry that any things should have gone contrary to Law, as they have done, and I hope care will be taken to prevent any such things for the future.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. The King hath said he will govern according to Law; he hath done so, and will do so.

Holloway. That I leave to the Judgement of all; many know better than I.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Such Glossy Pretences are very strange, to carry on such a Design, for the Seizing a Sovereign Prince, that you have Sworn Allegiance to, or ought to have done.

Holloway. I think those Pretences, the Grounds that we went upon, were no Glossy Pretences at all.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. I think it is, that when things are not done as you would have them you must immediately Rebel.

Holloway. No, Sir, not that; we did not design a Rebellion.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. The seizing the King is certainly a Rebellion, and one of the highest steps of Rebellion.

Holloway. We say this, that all ways were used against Protestants; several Sham-Plots, but no Justice could be had against Papists.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Several of them were Executed here.

Holloway. There were some Executed at first, Sir, but afterwards when so many great Persons came to be concerned, there was nothing could be had against them.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. There were mighty searches made about London for that great number of Papists talk on.

Holloway. There were a great many seized, Sir; but what became of them?

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Generally Tried, and brought to condign Punishment. You would not have had every *Irish-man* believed against honest men. Some people were called Papists in Masquerade.

Holloway. *Irish men* were believed against Protestants, after they had turned about, and had Sworn against Papists, they were believed then. It was well observed, that while the *Irish* Evidences did continue in the first Discourse of the Popish Plot, and in the first Evidence, then it is well known they were slighted, and all cried out against; but when they came to Swear against Protestants, then things were altered presently.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. I pray God all mens eyes may be opened to see what is done.

Holloway. I would not advise any one to go that way to work, to do any thing by force of Arms, and I wish the Kings eyes may be opened, that he may see his Enemies from his Friends, and I think he hath cause to look for them near his home.

Have you any Papers to deliver?

Holloway. I have no other Papers; what Paper I Wrote the Council had. I did write a Paper that it might be some satisfaction to the Opinions of people of what I knew, that care might be taken to prevent other Opinions, if there were an error. And that Paper the Council had, though they took it very haughtily of me, that I should presume to Write such a thing. I looked upon it that I could not do more for the King, than to acquaint him with what I knew, that if they were mis-informed, there might be care taken to alter the Opinion.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. You have delivered no Paper to your Wife, or to any Friends?

Holloway. That I suppose is well known to the Goaler.

Mr. Sh. Dashwood. You know better than any body whether you have or not. You may say ay or no:

Holloway.



Holloway. I could not be admitted to Write any, for I could not have Pen and Ink to Write any thing but this.

Mr. Sh. Dabwood. And you have not delivered any Paper?

Holloway. I have Written to some Friends. I know it is supposed, that I have delivered a Copy of that Paper that the Council had, and I think if it had been known publicly, it would have done no great hurt.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. You speak of several peoples Opinions; what do you mean?

Holloway. As concerning the Times, Sir, the management of Affairs.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Pray, Sir, under what denomination do you reckon your self?

Holloway. I reckon my self a Protestant.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Of what sort? Of the Church of England, or of the Dissenters from them.

Holloway. I am not a Dissenter from the Church of England.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Nor joyned with them?

Holloway. Nor joyned with them altogether. But I thought that if any good had been designed for England, that I had done enough to merit a Pardon, for I had Wrote so much of Truth, and was so fair and plain in it, that I thought it would have merited a Pardon, if any good were designed. If I could have discovered more, that had been for the King and Kingdoms Interest, I would have done it: Nor I did not do it rashly, but considered of it some time before I gave it in. I hope it will be a satisfaction that there was such a Plot; what other mens Opinions might be of it, I can't tell; but leave every one to their own Judgment. It was feared that Arbitrary Government and Popery was designed, and truly I think at this present time by what I can understand, that there is little better designed.

Cap. Richardson. This is reflecting upon the Government.

Mr. Sh. Dabwood. This is not fit.

Holloway. I say it is contrary to the Kings knowledge, Sir.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Sir, we have neither a Reprieve, nor a Pardon for you.

Holloway. I don't expect it, Sir; if Truth and Plainness would have merited a Pardon, I might have had it.

Cap. Richardson. The King is the best Judge of his own mercy.

Holloway. Had the Law been executed against Popish Offenders, I had never been concerned in a Plot.

Cap. Richardson. You know the King was very earnest in that, to have the Laws put in execution against them, and that he moved it to the Parliament to have it done, have you any thing else to say, that more nearly concerns you?

Holloway. I wish I could have been any otherways serviceable to the King and Kingdom before I left them. I should have been very willing; and it was always my design, to promote the King and Kingdoms Interest more than mine own.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Well, Sir, you may say some things very well, but others ill.

Holloway. What I say, Sir, I leave to peoples Judgments, if I am mistaken, I hope they will be otherwise.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Well, Sir, have you any thing further to say?

Holloway. No, Sir.

Mr. Sh. Dabwood. I suppose you used to keep a Meeting or Club at Bristol, with several there.

Holloway. I know some have represented a Club very bad in Bristol. A Club we had about the Choice of Parliament men.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. The Horse-shoe Club.

Mr. Sh. Dabwood. Or the Marmalad Club.

Holloway. The Horse shoe Club it was only for the carrying on the Election of Parliament men. If all such things should be called Clubs, there were greater Clubs kept by another Party.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Well Sir, you had best fit your self for Death you have not long time to live.

Then he opened his Bible and read the 62. Psalm, and part of two chapters in the Hebrews, and afterward asked the Sheriffs if he might have liberty to Pray; which being granted, he Prayed as follows.

Blessed and holy Lord our God, thou art before all Men, thou art the only true God, the Almighty God, the Fountain of all Goodness. Thou art the Discerner of all hearts, the secret thoughts of men are not unknown to thee. Oh Lord, what am I that thou shouldst be mindful of me, or that thou shouldst be mindful of me, or that thou shouldst suffer me now to call upon thee, when thou mightest have taken me away in the Commission of some sin against thee? But thou hast been a merciful God, a long-suffering God, a patient God. O Lord, I trust it is for my Souls welfare in bringing me to this, though it is an untimely end, for thou cuttest off my days in the midst, but Lord, I trust it is for my Souls sake. Our times are in thy hands, and it is my Sins that have brought me to

this. Oh give me a true sense of them, as I hope thou hast done, and that thou hast heard my Prayers. and will be my God, my Comforter, and receive me in and through the Merits of Jesus Christ our Lord, who offered himself a Sacrifice for our Sins, even for the Sins of the whole World, and now sitteth at thy right hand interceding for us. Lord, hear me, in and through him. Lay not any of my Sins to my charge; let not the least Sin be unpardon'd. The least Sin deserveth damnation; Lord, I trust thou hast pardoned them all, and that thou hast heard my Prayers & the prayers of others for me. Lord, in mercy look down upon me, in mercy look down upon this Nation; pardon the crying Sins thereof. Lord, thou seest to what a height of Sin it grows, and thou seest what wickedness is promoted in all Places, and what little encouragement there is to that which is good. Lord bless the King, and keep him from all Conspiracies. Lord give him a sense of his Condition, and make him know his Enemies from his Friends. O Lord, let him look close about him, to see who are about him, and Lord put an end to all Plottings. O Lord, make him a happy Prince, give him a sense of his Sins, and a sense of whose Servant he is. Lord make him thy true and faithful Servant. Lord bless all thy People wheresoever they are, and continue thy Gospel every where, let it not be rooted out. O Lord, thou knowest what Contrivances have been made against it. Lord continue it here; let it flourish more than ever it hath done. Lord make England a Place thou wilt delight to dwell in, and make them know thou hast not dealt so with every Nation. Lord, hear the Prayers of all thy People. Lord continue the Gospel in England, let not Popery, let not Arbitrary Government come in. O Lord, there are good Laws in England, Lord, let them be put in Execution. Lord, hear me for thy Mercies sake. I am now coming unto thee. Lord, I have but a minute or two to be here, let thy Spirit receive me, to thee I commit my Spirit, Lord hear me, and answer me for thy Sons sake, who is at thy right hand interceding for me, to whom with thee, and thy Eternal Spirit be all Honour, and Glory and Praise, both now and evermore.

( Then being asked who was in Council at the delivery of the Letter, he answered.

Holloway. There was the Duke of York, and the Lord Keeper; I did not deliver it: It was intercepted in a Letter or given in. I did not know how it was, for I have been kept so, that I had not the Liberty to see any Friend, till yesterday in the afternoon I had the Liberty of 2. or 3. hours with my Wife.

Cap. Richardson. You had your Wife with you before, and your Sister, and some other Friends.

Holloway. But that was never without a Keeper Sir.

Cap. Richardson. you are in the right.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. They do not use to allow men under your Circumstances such a Liberty as you talk of.

Holloway. I Pray God that no other people may concern themselves with publick Affairs out of their own way, and that the Scrabblers might be put down, for they do more hurt to the Kingdom than any thing else.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Have you any thing more to say.

Holloway. No, Sir.

Mr. Sh. Daniel. Then God have Mercy on your Soul.

## The PAPER Delivered to the Sheriffs.

APRIL 26. 1684.

TO stop the Mouths, &c. of all Pamphleters, and News-Scriblers, who have done more Prejudice to his Majesty and Kingdoms, by their Impudent endeavors to Sham all Plots, and to fill the Country with False News, than ever they will be able to Retrieve; and to satisfy all I leave behind me, I thought good to draw up a short Account of what I know of the Late Protestant Plot, how I came to be Concerned, what Induced me to it, and how far I was Concerned; also my now Opinion of it, &c.

It was my Unhappiness to have too Publick a Spirit for one of my Capacity, and as soon as I came to be a Free-man, to prefer the King and Kingdoms Interest before my own, for having some knowledge in Linnen Cloath, upon the Prohibition of French Linens, &c. I thought the Linnen Manufacture might be brought to Perfection in England, to the very great advantage of the Poor, and so made some trial of it in Warwickshire, Where I employed some hundreds of Poor, and in about Elghteen Months time brought it to such Perfection, that I could make as good Cloath as the French, and so well Imitate it, that few could know it from French; but the Prohibition being not so strict as at first it seemed to be, French Cloath was brought in Cheaper than ever, so that I was forced to leave off with loss; but considering, that by an Act of Parliament, for its encouragement, in a method I had thought upon, it might be settled much to the Kings and Kingdoms Interest, advancing the Kings Revenue near two hundred thousand Pounds a Year, and would have employed about 80. Thousand Poor people, and about 40. Thousand Acres of Land, concerning which I was (about June,



June, 1680. ) brought acquainted with the Earl of Essex, to whom I related the business; who immediately had me to the now Earl of Rochester, then President of the Treasury, and he had me to Sir Edward Dittling, who (when they understood my Proposals) gave me something to bear my Charges, and encouraged me to attend the next Parliament, to endeavour the Promotion thereof; which I did almost the whole Session, and brought to the Speakers Chamber some of the Cloath which was compared with French, &c. and the Design well approved of by all; which brought me into too large Acquaintance, for one of my Capacity; from whom I heard too much (as hath proved, for my Interest) of things that were then in hand concerning the Popish Plot, which prevented the doing any thing as to my Design. So after that I was encouraged to attend the Oxford Parliament, which I did; and was desired there by the Earl of Clarendon, and others, to prepare a Bill; the Heads of which I drew up, though it proved to no purpose but my Ruin; I wish my King and Country might reap the benefit of what I pay to dear for. The more I knew, during my Attendance on those two Parliaments, the more was desirous to know; and did by some Scriblers, and News-mongers constantly know most Publick Affairs that were Acted, which they undertake to represent according to their own humour; many Actions being represented very Illegal, much against the Protestant Interest, in favour of Papists, &c. Shamming the Popish Plot, and laying Sharn Plots upon Protestants; abusing the Rights and Priviledges of the Subject, the Truth of which I leave to the Judgment of all; but he arising many such like things, was easily prevailed with, to be Concerned in the PLOT, according as it was proposed to me, viz.

About July, 1682. I met with a Person, who then being come from London, gave me a Relation at large concerning the Election of Sheriffs that had been in June, the manner of which is well known to all; he represented it to me as a very Illegal Action, and that there was a Devilish Design of the Papists in it, to Cut off the Kings Friends, the stirring men in both the last Parliaments, as to the Prosecution of the Popish Plot, who I always took to be both the Kings and the Nations Friends. That there was Witnesses had been ready along time to swear against them, but they could not get Jurors to believe them, but now they had by force of Arms, &c. got Sheriffs who would get Jurors to believe them, and so Hang them up at their Pleasure; that there was none but bad Council about the King, who kept all Ill Actions from his knowledge; and if they proceeded to swear North and Rich at Michaelmas, and to chuse Lord Mayor, as they had done Sheriffs, the Protestant Gentry were resolved (namely some) to remedy what was Designed, by an Insurrection in several parts of England; and if possible to get the King off in his Evil Council, and bring all Popish Offenders to Justice, saying, That they were sure that when the King knew the Occasion of their Rising, he would presently give up all Offenders, and come to them. That it should begin in November, in London, Bristol, Exeter, Taunton, Chester, York, New-Castle; and that we should hear more of it in a Months time, therefore desired we might consider how it might be managed in Bristol, which we did; and concluded that Bristol with about 350. men might be easily secured by a Surprise, without the Blood-shed of one man. About a Month after that came the Person he mentioned we should hear more by; but he could declare no more then the former did, only that the Design went on, and there would be timely Notice given to all parts; but we heard of nothing but Disappointments and Delays putting it off from time to time. In April I heard of another Design against the King, and Duke of York as they were to come from Newmarket, sometime in March; but when I enquired into that, found that it was carried on by Three, or Four; and never could hear the Names of a few Five that were for it. When I heard it, I declared my Abhorrence of any such thing, and that I was confident none in our Parts would be for such a base Action. After that enquired further into it, and could find, that though it was intended to be done Six Weeks before, that they had only a Parcel of Arms ready; and that they had neither Men, nor Horses; but one said, if they could have raised 5 or 800. £. to have bought Horses, and also something to encourage men, they should have found men enough; so that I looked upon that only to be the Design of Five or six Persons, and no way likely to be Acted; but the General Design for the Insurrection was Carried on by others, who, though they had made a great Stir in the Nation, trying the Inclinations of People, and had Treared with the Scots and Irish, as I heard, who were to be ready at the same time, yet were never come to any Re-

solution, as to any Time, or Method, before all was Discovered; though they had been Eleven Months Contriving of it, from the time I first heard of it. This I hope will be enough to satisfy all People that there was a PLOT; I mention no Names here, having given his Majesty a more large Account of what I know of it, mentioning the Names of all that I know Concerned. The Arguments before mentioned, with many others to the same Effect, not only soon prevailed with me, but made me indeed think it my Duty to do what I could for my King and Countreys Safety; being then fully perswaded, that not only Popery, but Arbitrary Government was Intended; not then considering (as I have since Considered) how much Bloodshed it might have caused in the Nation; for then I thought all would have been ended in little time, supposing things to be, as to me was Reported. But I do now declare my Heartly Sorrow for my Yielding thereto, and Acting therein; (though I can safely say I was not for taking the Kings Life, but wholly for his Preservation) yet am Satisfied that it might have caused very much Bloodshed in the Nation, and am glad it did not take effect. Also I declare that I am Satisfied it was a very great Sin against God, not only in distrustting his Providence, but in offering to take the Work out of his Hand, who knows the Hearts, Thoughts, and Actions of All, though never so Secret; whose Mercy and Pardon I most humbly beg, and trust shall have; and in Confidence thereof, (through the Merits of the Blood of our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus) can willingly Die. Nothing (next to This, and all other my Sins) is more trouble to me than the thoughts how (Dying) I shall leave all my Relations and Friends in trouble concerning my Worldly Affairs; being by reason of this unhappy Concern, not in such a Posture they should be, so that by my Death, my Dearest Friends will not only be left in great trouble, but lie under the Censure of many, none understanding how things are; my Wife and Children Rained, and my Creditors great Losers, whereas might have been thought worthy to live, I should have taken the trouble off them all, and hope in time to have payed every man to a Penny, for I can from my Heart say that as I hope for Salvation, I never designed any Fraud to any man, but to pay every man his due. I have heard that some should say I took up money at Interest to carry on the Plot, which I disown, for I never was at any Charges therein more than Common expenses, nor never heard of any Money raised upon that Account, though I heard of ten thousand Pounds that was to be raised for the Scots, but suppose it was not done. I beseech God I am pretty well satisfied, and hope shall be fully as to my future State, and can willingly leave the World; but upon the Account of my Friends and Creditors, Considering the Condition they will be left in, could gladly have lived some time, that I might have taken off that Scandal that I fear will be laid upon me when I am gone, but God knows my Heart I am free, and always was from any thoughts of Fraud or Deceit.

I am satisfied that all means could be thought on hath been used to get as much out of me as possible, but had it not been my Resolution to declare all that I know concerning the Plot, and also to do what in me lay to prevent all Plotings for the future, that there might be an end put to such Heats, Differences and Heart-burnings, that is, one against another; That his Majesty and his Subjects might live in such love and union, as ought to be between a Prince and his People, I had not wrote what I did; for I was never a man to be wrought upon by Flattery, and what I wrote was not without due consideration, being nothing but truth. I do suppose that making such a full and large confession at first, and some expressions that might be observed in my Letters, which I perceive were intercepted, may cause some thoughts that I still reserve some persons undiscovered; but as to my Confession it was not rashly done, I had some Weeks at Sea to call things to mind; and as for persons I gave a true account, and of all passages I could remember, though others do and may come into mind. What I suppose was observed in my Letters might be some foolish expressions concerning some of my Acquaintance, and that I would betray my Friend, meaning that no severity should cause me to accuse any Friends falsely to save my self, although (if I had thought the accusing of a number of persons would have saved my life, and had been one that would do any such thing to save life) I had the most cause of any man; for when I first absconded, those in Bristol and elsewhere, that were my most intimate Acquaintance refused to do any thing for me; nay, would not receive Letters when I wrote to them, fearing they should be found to hold correspondence with me. When I gave in my confession I stood not upon terms of a Pardon, being confident if Truth would merit Mercy from the King, I should have his pardon, and that it was the only way to gain Mercy with God. I find already that people are passing their Censures upon me, some one way, and some another, for my not pleading and accepting of another Trial when it was offered, saying, that I confessed the whole Indictment, which I disown; for I said thus, What I was guilty of I had confessed to his Majesty, and wholly depended upon his Mercy; besides, I had some other reasons why I did not plead, which at present I conceal, and also why I did not speak what I intended. More I may say at the place of Execution before I leave the World, which will be according as I find things; but as to Discovery of any more persons (I cannot) than hath been already mentioned. Should I mention any whom I thought would have been concerned, I may much abuse them, though I believe many thousands in the Nation would have appeared, for the reasons afore-mentioned, which caused me to be concerned. I doubt not but several that were concerned, who are or may be cleared for want of sufficient proof against them, or by his Majesties Mercy, will blame me for confessing what I knew, and not much grieve that I failed of a Pardon, or at my Death. But I repent not my Confession, and could I discover more would do it willingly, though I find not many with me.

James Holloway.

We Appoint Robert Horn, John Baker, and John Redmayne, to Print these Papers, and that none other Print the same.

Peter Daniel.  
Samuel Dawson.

Edinburgh, Re-Printed by the Heir of Andrew Anderson, Printer to His Most Sacred Majesty, 1682.